

Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 /073 W

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R 161809Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5927

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 01384

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SF, FR, WA

SUBJECT: DISCUSSIONS WITH FRENCH AND UK ON NAMIBIA

REF: STATE 7289

SUMMARY: QUAI OFFICIALS BELIEVE THAT A JOINT ANGLO-FRANCO-US APPROACH TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FOCUSED ON NAMIBIA SHOULD BE URGENTLY CONSIDERED. END SUMMARY

1. POLCOUNS AND EMBOFF CALLED ON QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA REBEYROL AND HIS DEPUTY COMBAL ON JANUARY 16 FOR GENERAL DISCUSSION OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTIONS. THE EXCHANGE CENTERED ON NAMIBIA WHICH THE FRENCH CONSIDER TO BE THE MOST URGENT AREA PROBLEM IN VIEW OF THE FORWARD PROGRESS BEING MADE IN RHODESIA(WHICH SOUTH AFRICA (SA) SEEMS TO BE SUPPORTING AND ABOUT WHICH THE FRENCH ARE APPARENTLY MORE HOPEFUL THAN THE BRITISH) AND OF THE MAY 30 DEADLINE FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON NAMIBIA IMPOSED BY SC RES 366.

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2. THE FRENCH BELIEVE THAT DESPITE SOME MINOR INDICA-

TIONS TO THE CONTRARY, PM VORSTER AND THE SAG STILL WISH TO DIVIDE NAMIBIA INTO BANTUSTANS. THEY ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE AFRICANS WILL NEVER ACCEPT THIS SOLUTION. HENCE THEY CONSIDER THAT SA SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO MAKE A VERY CLEAR STATEMENT OF ITS INTENTION TO LEAD NAMIBIA TO EARLY SELF-DETERMINATION IN UNITY. THE QUAI THINKS SUCH AN EXPLICIT STATEMENT IS URGENTLY NEEDED NOT ONLY TO DIMINISH PRESSURES BY AFRICANS FOR RADICAL ACTION DURING SC CONSIDERATION OF NAMIBIA IN MAY, BUT ALSO TO PERMIT PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND OTHER AFRICAN MODERATES TO RECEIVE DURING ITS SPRING MEETING THE OAU APPROBATION WHICH WILL BE NEEDED IF THEY ARE TO BE ABLE TO CONTINUE THEIR USEFUL ROLE IN RHODESIA, AS WELL AS IN NAMIBIA.

3. WHILE THEY CONSIDER IT SOMEWHAT LESS URGENT (REFLECTING THEIR TRADITIONAL WARINESS ABOUT UN INVOLVEMENT), THE FRENCH THINK SA ALSO SHOULD TAKE UP AGAIN THE DIALOGUE WITH UN SYG WALDHEIM.

4. IN LIGHT OF THE ABOVE AND IF THEIR ASSESSMENT IS SHARED, THE FRENCH BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. AND UK SHOULD CONSIDER MAKING A VERY FIRM JOINT DEMARCHE WITH THE FRENCH TO THE SAG. THE IMPORTANT THING IS NOT THE MECHANICS OF ANY SUCH DEMARCHE (THAT IS, WHETHER IT BE MADE BY THE THREE AMBASSADORS JOINTLY OR DONE IN PARALLEL) BUT RATHER THE EFFECTIVE TIMELY USE OF THE LEVERAGE OVER THE SAG WHICH THE TRIPLE VETO STILL GIVES THE THREE POWERS.

5. PRELIMINARILY, THE FRENCH THINK AN APPROACH SHOULD AWAIT THE RESULT OF CURRENT ELECTIONS WHEN IT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 01384

WILL BE CLEARER TO WHAT DEGREE ELECTORS FOLLOWED SWAPO INSTRUCTIONS NOT TO PARTICIPATE. THE FRENCH CONSIDER, IN ANY CASE, THAT THE SAG ARGUMENT THAT SWAPO IS NOT "REPRESENTATIVE" IS INVALID. EVEN THOUGH SWAPO MAY WELL REPRESENT ONLY PART OF NAMIBIA, THE FRENCH BELIEVE THE SAG MUST DEAL WITH IT AS SWAPO IS THE ONLY VIABLE LIBERATION MOVEMENT. THE NAMIBIAN CASE, THE FRENCH CONTEND, PARALLELS THAT OF MOZAMBIQUE, WHERE THE PORTUGUESE IMMEDIATELY AGREED TO DEAL WITH THE SOLE LIBERATION MOVEMENT, AND NOT THAT OF ANGOLA, WHERE THERE ARE SEVERAL COMPETING GROUPS TO CONSIDER.

6. THE FRENCH ALSO BELIEVE THAT WESTERN APPROACHES TO PRETORIA SHOULD INCLUDE STRONG ENCOURAGEMENT FOR RELAXATION OF PETTY APARTHEID, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT SUCCESS ON THIS SCORE. IN MAKING DEMARCHES TO PRETORIA, THE FRENCH THINK EMPHASIS SHOULD NOT BE PUT ON FUTURE DIFFICULTIES FOR THE THREE POWERS AT THE UN (WHICH SA HARDLY RESPECTS), BUT RATHER ON THE NECESSITY FOR SA TO TAKE ACTION IN ORDER TO PRESERVE CONFIDENTIAL

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FREE WORLD (INCLUDING SOUTH AFRICAN) INTERESTS IN AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD, INTERESTS WHICH TRADITIONAL SA POLICIES ARE THREATENING.

7. WE HOPE THE DEPARTMENT WILL REPLY RAPIDLY, EITHER THROUGH THIS EMBASSY OR IN WASHINGTON, TO THIS CONTINUING FRENCH INTEREST IN COORDINATING US-UK-FRENCH ACTION ON SA.
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